

# CHINA

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## 1. Introduction

### 11 How to view things.

Life is too short to learn all there is to know about a people and to become thoroughly acquainted with all the ins and outs connected with a nation's life. One day, however, may be just enough to grasp the essential problems.

One day's time will let us have the right answer from the world, that is if we ask the right question. And yet a lifelong stay among a people will not allow us to become thoroughly acquainted with their habits and character as long as we consider them a nation inferior to our own. Our very interest in their language, culture, economy, history will be handicapped. To recognize and solve a problem of this kind is not merely a question of time; it is essentially a question of the right point of view.

This is said merely, to justify the venture of speaking on the problems of a country even after a very short stay; but do not pretend that the following lines to represent such an outlook.

### 12 Hate and Love.

Hate and Love cause blindness and will never lead to a pure notion of things. No doubt, love is required for every good work, but it must be confined to love for the work and must not be extended to the object of research itself.

China for me is the home country of a good friend, who was educated abroad on a genuine Western standard. He came home as a stranger, thus facing in his own person the difficult problem and struggle of present day China. This is an often repeated tragedy, significant of the whole Chinese situation.

I, therefore, look upon China with personal interest but I shall, nevertheless, try to study events just as a scientist would study the life of a plant — searching for the reasons and laws, and not for the mere purpose of criticizing nature's intricate work. There are too many on both sides, who — assuming the part of a public prosecutor — dare to criticize and judge a people without impartially seeking for reliable evidence first. Unfortunately, the number of those is very small, who try to investigate problems with the upright purpose of tracing the origin and reasons of political events, this being in fact all we can do. We cannot influence the process of

political events to our advantage in any other way than we can influence natural processes. And the history of nations is perhaps the greatest natural process in the world.

This means, that we have first of all to find out those laws which range beyond human control, and then try to influence events according to these laws and to make the best of it. Conceit and passion play a dangerous game in State affairs and international politics.

Of what use is it to judge as long as „right means“ our advantage, and wrong our disadvantage and as long as right is always with the strong? Such conditions provoke hate and misunderstanding. They will never lead to peace.

### 13 The outstanding fact.

What is the outstanding fact in China?

A nation, practically isolated for thousands of years, who has built up her own standards in economical, social and cultural life, maintaining them unchanged for almost an eternity, a nation alternately flourishing and declining has suddenly to face the white nations, forcing their entrance into the Old Empire with their warships.

Two antagonistic spirits meet, fight and mix — the one embodying tradition and stability, the other active, and restlessly striving for a new economical standard, based on the exploitation of power resources. On either side there are outstanding qualities which should be studied and respected by the opponent. This status would gradually work out to a general benefit and would be a substitute for the former state of exclusiveness in which one party kept itself aloof in self-admiring distance from the other, which it viewed disdainfully from a distance.

## 2. The event

### 21 Old and new Spirit.

In a state there is one thing by far more important than kings, presidents or dictators and that is: the spirit of the people. The future of China and her destiny will never be understood excepting by those, who have thoroughly grasped the Chinese spirit and aims.

„Progress“ in the meaning of foreign civilisation, will not be possible in China as long as the Chinese stick to their civilisation and ancient customs, failing as they do, to recognise Western civilisation to be progress in comparison with their own. We can easily understand this hesitation on their part. Those features in modern civilisation, which might induce the Chinese people to abandon their old treasures of civilisation and history, are very scarce. Yet as long as the Chinese only compare culture with culture and remain oblivious to imperious commercial and political necessities, and as long as foreigners, on the other hand, continue to compare

standards of living, at the same time neglecting the higher things in life, a true reconciliation between new and old will never be achieved.

### 22 Is China a backward nation?

Is China a backward nation? Yes and no!

China is backward in as far as modern civilisation is concerned. Is China to be blamed for this? Surely not. How can we expect a nation, which has been static for thousands of years, to turn into a modern state within a few decenniums?

America is backward with regard to civilisation in a higher sense. May Europe and China blame her for it? No indeed.

The American immigrant had first of all to look for shelter and to find a living in a wild country. Existence is always the basic principle of life, every man and people have to start life in this material spirit. In that young country no time was left to develop anything else. Nevertheless the U.S.A. have already contributed a very important entity to the world's treasures.

This is the true democratic spirit of the people. This spirit enabled the U.S.A. to solve the social problem of the modern industrialised state. No other nation succeeded in doing so, European states altogether echo with the labour problem. The skyscrapers, bridges, autocars are not what astonish us most. There would be no difficulty in erecting them just as well and even better in Europe on account of the more thoroughly practical scientific methods.

But where in Europe is there to be found a man who creates those huge business centres from which originate these buildings — the man, who at all times, gives work a free chance — where else will a man be appreciated by his work only, without regard to his ancestors or references? Is there any chance in Europe for a man to be trusted with the job he is able to accomplish, regardless of his age, merits, etc? Where else is professional classification not transferred to civil life.

Is Europe to be blamed for this? Surely not! What else could we expect in a country where dozens of most heterogeneous nations with entirely different languages, characters and traditions have fought against each other for centuries, where the soil is overcrowded and with out adequate resources? We cannot blame either Europe, China or America for this. We are not entitled to criticize, nor are we authorised to summon nations before the court of justice. The only thing we can do, is to study conditions, investigate the cause of things — try to understand — and last not least, act accordingly.

The old spirit of China and the new spirit of the white race will gradually come to an agreement — the last decennium bears witness to the new spirit spreading all over China. After many failures of the imperialistic policy against China, appreciation and understanding of Chinese conditions seem to be improving among the white nations. There is no reason why China should not adopt the material evolution of white people, nor why, on the other hand, white nations should not respect and study the most valuable inheritance and traditions of genuine Chinese history — thus both taking advantage by each other.

### 3. The origin of the event

#### 31 Chinese spirit developed out of old conditions.

Like every other country China is unable to stand up against nations using the superior technical and economical methods without gradually adopting them. Nations, who adopt or invent these methods will always go ahead, whereas others, neglecting or refusing them, will be in the rear and at the mercy of the stronger races.

Hence China must either abandon her old ways of living, substituting them by modern methods, or sacrifice herself in a hopeless struggle against foreign powers, a case very frequently to be found in the history of mankind.

China indeed, made the best out of her old technique, fully unfamiliar as she was with the energy of coal and steam. This old technique corresponding to European „mediaeval“ technique, was developed by the Chinese to a wonderful degree in agriculture, handicraft and trade. One of the most interesting studies to be made in China, is that of a complete collection and description of all their various organizations and devices. These tools are perfect and not to be surpassed, just as in the same manner modern aeronautical research had to acknowledge that the traditional rigging of sailing ships could not be improved on. Chinese people have acquired a great virtuosity in playing one „instrument“, that is to say the „old tools“ — they must now learn to play a new one „power“ civilisation — that is the whole problem.

All the devices and instruments used to till the soil, the various appliances for the household, all that is necessary for trade and warfare, have not been modified for a long time. The same old wooden plough is used to till the soil, the same stone mill grinds the flour, the same junk carries cargo and passengers on the rivers and canals, the same wheel-carriages (Chiao-che) are to be seen on the highroads (once in an excellent condition).

There was nothing to modify the way of living, their style of trade and business and hence the social structure of this nation. No change has taken place in their methods of agriculture and handicraft able to create new classes such as we find in Europe — that is to say the type of the „bourgeois“, the mediaeval artisan and merchant and the proletarian workman of modern times, who had to fight as revolutionaries against the old social system in order to get their due share of the world's goods and public rights.

There had been no revolutionary idea in China for thousands of years. Customs and family spirit, communities and state naturally grew more and more into stabilised rigid forms. Everyone had to follow them and they became a main feature of Chinese education. The Middle Kingdom was an eternal state, troubled only now and then by the accession of a new dynasty and the threat of invading barbarian tribes. Not any new idea troubled the economic and social life of this country.

Tradition was necessarily the ruling feature in such a static system, and resistance and scorn of every kind of innovation were its natural consequences. The highest aim was wisdom and this was tested in the most complicated and difficult examinations the world has ever known. This general, rigid state of mind is not peculiar to the Chinese, it has always

been a characteristic feature of states grown old in fixed method of living. Ancient Egypt, Greece, Rome and the various mediaeval empires, which existed before the invention of gun powder, as well as modern Europe before the invention of steam energy, have shown this peculiarity.

The queue (a Manchurian custom forced upon the Chinese people by the last Manchurian dynasty) became typical of this state of mind.

At the very moment, in which the white nations are breaking down these old rigid standards of China, we cannot help noticing that our own economic life is being turned into standards on a daily increasing scale. Standards have become the foremost feature, especially since the end of the war. There are standard mechanical devices for machines, ships and vehicles, standards for economical and juridical relationships, standards for papers etc. They are spreading far and wide, always increasing their territory. There are already many things, which we are accustomed to take for granted. It is possible that in the distant future we shall come to take everything for granted, just as did the Chinese in the past.

Perhaps every nation has a „Chinese“ performance of her own.

#### 32 Meeting of old and new spirit by force.

##### 321 Relations between Asia and Europe in ancient times.

This was the country found by the white barbarians: by Roman Embassies and later on by merchants, diplomats and missionaries as well as by adventurers who visited the country but very seldom succeeded in getting into the interior of the Empire and who were usually treated as inferior barbarians. China was conscious of her own history and civilisation, and while ignoring these foreigners and what they possessed, could not help looking down on them in the same way as white races did afterwards in regard to China, which they judged without ever having studied her. China was unwilling to have these foreigners come to her country and she had the power to control them, keeping them out of doors, thus maintaining her splendid isolation in the same manner as did Japan.

##### 322 „Power civilisation“ intervening.

This condition was entirely altered when the white races invented the powder-steam civilisation, whereby they were enabled to force the gates of China. Under various pretences, mostly of a more or less criminal nature, war was declared and weak China forced to open treaty ports, to lease land as concessions and to do what the conquerors wished. The use of force for the sole purpose of establishing a trade in treaty-ports, while guaranteeing the safety of the merchants, ships and goods in these places, may be natural, but by no means justified.

History has shown that force was always the instrument of the stronger parties. Nobody is supposed to be an angel on this earth, neither the white man nor the Chinese, yet treaties based on guns and soldiers are not written for eternity. It is quite natural that nation, compelled to sign such treaties, should endeavour to get rid of them, and to shake off their „obligations“ as soon as they can find their way, that is to say in the very moment, when guns and soldiers will no more be able to support and maintain these treaty „rights“. There cannot be any obligation on the part of the Chinese, because they were not free in their dealings when

they had to sign the treaties. These treaties were not equally balanced, bestowing rights as well as obligations on both sides.

### 323 Morality of intervention.

The conclusion of these treaties, however, was accompanied by actions and aims which unavoidably caused feelings of hatred and injustice. They can hardly be forgotten by China and may lead to a revenge in the future. The opium war in 1840, the first warlike action against China, will be an ineffaceable stain in England's colonial history. The use of opium — a terrible passion — up to that time only spread in small circles, was forced on the poor Chinese people, merely for the sake of making money out of this trade. The undiplomatic step of the Imperial Commissioner Li in Canton, who burnt a large stock of Indian opium, was a welcome pretext for waging war against China and forcing this unmoral trade on the defenceless people.

(1729—1840). The treaty of Tientsin obliged China „not to interfere with nor limit the import of Indian opium“. Over 2 billion \$ surplus on the English side, innumerable wrecked lives on the Chinese are the result of this treaty.

If the use, production and trade of certain goods is strictly forbidden in a country, as was the dealing with opium in China, there can be no doubt about the right of the government.

There is a conspicuous example of modern time, which may help you to understand this opium question. The U.S.A. prohibited the import, production and public consumption of alcohol.

Let us assume a foreign nation, who sees herself deprived of a prosperous business by this regulation and imports the alcohol in spite of the prohibition law, storing the alcohol in her private storehouses in New York. The prohibition officials seize the stock and destroy it according to the laws. The foreign nation, excited about the financial damage, injustice and violation of international peace, declares war, defeats the U.S.A. and forces a treaty upon her „not to interfere nor to limit the import of alcohol“.

In order not to lose face, the foreign nation points out the fact that alcohol was already imported before that time, that alcohol was produced secretly and that the U.S.A. reopened their own distilleries after that treaty, in order to beat foreign import by local competition.

Such action would be blamed and considered immoral and unbearable by every civilised nation. Why not as well in China? This is exactly the opium question translated into our way of thinking. We have but to free ourselves of the often unconscious prejudice of Chinese racial inferiority.

### 324 Christian Missions.

The history of the white man's interference in China is not the history of the „white man's burden“, but of the „white man's force“. It is antagonistic to the spirit of the religious and especially, the educational work of the missionaries. He is the unique white man who really bore a „burden“ and whose educational work indeed helps to modernise China and to make her independent.

His most valuable achievement is not the spreading of the Christian religion, but the general education of the Chinese in Western ideas. It is first of all the merit of the American missionaries in the last decennium. They followed the policy of Catholic missions in former times in Europe and even in California. We forget too easily that the monasteries, built up in the midst of heathen countries, were primarily schools for teaching handicraft and for giving a general education.

Christian faith was mainly the guide and spiritual protector of the missionaries themselves in their unselfish work.

Christian faith probably helps a good deal in freeing the Chinese mind of superstition and other features impeding its reasonable and unhindered thinking. The Christian faith may not become the religion of China in the future, but as a faith suited to modern life, it may render an important service to this country until China is able to find a modern world conception of her own.

### 33 Chief Problem arising.

#### 331 Standard of living.

The standard of living is a function of needs, not of civilisation. It is a wellknown fact that the standard of living — that is to say, the material wealth of every great people, increased in the course of its growth.

We also know, however, that a high standard of living usually followed the periods of a high standard of civilisation and mostly marked the decline of a people.

The pyramids were built long before Antony and Cleopatra enjoyed the luxury and material prosperity of late Egypt.

The Acropolis was built when Athens became an international centre. The idea of the Roman state was fixed when the Roman mob cried for „panem et circenses“.

Civilisation will always depend upon the ratio between the time of work and the time of leisure and the ratio between the sums required for bare existence and the sums to be disposed of for cultural purposes. This ratio of time and that of money are very important. Money alone will not do if the time of leisure is too short. Time does not help — if there is no money to be spent for such purposes.

The first alternation is marked by the state of things in the U.S.A. at the present day. American people have on an average, more money to spend than others on their mere needs of life, they lack leisure however, for the accomplishment of high works of art, literature, science, etc.

China, and to a small extent even Europe, have the time for leisure, but no money to spend. If Americans were able to restrain their claims for comfort and material wealth, they would gain a lot of time for developing their civilisation.

The only way of achieving this is now beginning to develop. The high standard can only be maintained and kept up when the same sums of money are earned in a shorter time of work. The 8 hours work day and the 5 days week distinctly mark this way.

In China there is plenty of leisure time which might be spent on cultural purposes, but nothing is done, nothing added to the rich treasure, created

by her ancestors. And why? There is neither money nor a reliable trustworthy administration, both indispensable features for public achievements.

The force that created the wisdom and art of the past, are inherited yet hidden and useless until a new prosperous age calls them forth to new life.

China and with her all other ancient peoples like the Egyptians and the Greeks, were able to create civilisations unrivalled in history. They succeeded without those large resources of power and materials available through modern technique, which gave humanity the control of an innumerable army of mechanical slaves.

The ancient peoples were able to achieve such a high degree of civilisation only because they knew how to keep their standard of living on a small simple level which might be called poverty but was modesty as well. Supposing, however, that these ancient peoples enjoyed the same satisfaction and felt just as contented with their low standard of living as we are able to feel on a high level? What difference is there really between either level of life? And what is literally meant by high and low standard of life? By which scale can we measure and compare them? A number of things in history go to prove that human happiness has always and everywhere been about the same, a mere ratio between the things we desire and those we can have. The standard of living is therefore but a relative factor.

There is of course a great difference in the appearance of a Chinese peasant and an American farmer. But is there on the whole a great difference between the spiritual balance of both? Work of the highest craftsmanship ever performed has been achieved between walls of clay and under thatched roofs in „backward“ China. But such work was never done by a „poor“ discontented population; it always marked a period of high civilisation and contentment — in clay huts. There is no reason why such work should not be done on the 50th floor of a skyscraper — where is the difference?

The books of the world are sealed and not written by human hand.

### 332 Poor and rich.

Poverty and frugality are not the same thing. Two men, both living under exactly the same conditions, can be either poor or frugal. The difference is more a spiritual one. The one man may be poor because he wants and needs more than he can afford; the other one may be frugal and contented because he does not require more for living than he earns or owns. He may even ignore other wants. It is a most difficult thing to slip off one's own skin and to judge other peoples conditions correctly. The so-called poor Chinese may be a great artist. This is the best proof that he is not poor. Art has never sprung from a mind preoccupied with thoughts of how to meet the bare requirements of existence. Art is usually combined with a certain simplicity, very often even frugality in its follower. It always presupposes a certain disdain or negligence of the outer conditions, a feature which changes poverty into frugality, procuring that evenness of temper indispensable for the performance of artistic work.

China is growing poor at present not only through the destruction of commerce and wealth in consequence of the civil war — the decisive

factor is the knowledge of the higher material standard of foreign life. New wants arising from this knowledge can only be met by a new prosperity in the future. China and the invading powers had nothing but contempt for one another. The only difference was that the powerful invader could emphasize his point of view all over the world whereas weak China was unable to do the same. China was therefore looked upon as a „backward“ nation. What is the real meaning of this word so often deliberately used by civilised people? How ought we to criticize either backwardness or civilisation of men and nations?

Strong foreign nations should realise that strong military force, thriving trade, public order, a high standard of living, good sanitary conditions etc. are the elements of internal and external power and soundness — probably the basis of a new civilisation — but not civilisation themselves.

Men whose names will last as long as human history is known, the founders of the world's great religions, great philosophers, artists and statesmen like Plato, Confucius, Michelangelo, Caesar, Asoka, Alexander, Kings and Nations who built the pyramids, the Indian temples, the great Wall, the Akropolis, the old Roman capitol, knew nothing about modern standards of living, modern comforts such as steamheated or fancooled rooms, running cold and warm water, electric light, refrigerator, shower baths — not to mention motor cars or paved roads —. And, oh horror! They did not even know the use of a handkerchief. They ate with their fingers and had no ice cream. And yet! Did all these things — erroneously taken as a measure of human quality and „progress“ — help to produce such conspicuous leaders and marvellous works? The standard of living is merely a function of needs, not of civilisation. People who do not claim much prosperity with regard to material things are not „backward“ in comparison to those who are boundless in their greed for enjoyment and luxury.

Modern technical and commercial methods — which founded a commercial and political supremacy over the entire world — are based, moreover, on a reckless exploitation of the fertility of the soil and of the material and power resources. On the other hand these people do not fill the space which is at present under their control. They will fill their land up to its frontiers some day — up to the limit of existence. This is a natural development of peoples ever since we know history. Can we believe in a modern people being able to modify the natural law of birth, growth, decline and death, a merciless law for human beings, families, peoples and any other living creature?

China is poor to-day. We can but admire the patience and self-control with which the Chinese bear the yoke of dismal misery and distress. Overpopulation and civil wars led this nation to poverty, unknown to them in former days. These features and facts must be realised if we wish to understand and appreciate what is going on in this country.

### 333 Overpopulation.

How many trees grow in a forest? Just as many as can exist therein. The number of growing trees even greatly exceeds the number of those which can exist. The surplus trees die, sooner or later, from lack of nourishment, and the strongest trees, best fitted for the struggle with

life, survive. The same thing has happened to all sorts of plants and living creatures ever since the beginning of the world.

Sparsely populated areas, which could nourish more human beings, do not represent a static situation. Increasing or decreasing — nature never stops to change. There are of course many territories with a sparse population such as deserts, mountainous regions, tundras etc. But they are just as densely populated as any other part of the world, if we consider the number of people, who can possibly live on such an area and the actual number inhabiting it. The relative density is the scale by which we must go.

Every community will sooner or later reach the limit in number sufficient for the ground it lives on. This limit might be called the fighting belt of the organism, as this state of affairs means a struggle. On the borders of the forest it means a struggle with bad soil, the woodranger, the altitude. On the border of a state it means fighting another people with the aim of extending one's territory or fighting for a foreign market in order to import food for exported goods; or a struggle for territory abroad either as a colonist or an immigrant or fighting against starvation and plagues in the interior. It may also mean civilwar within the country itself.

The ways procreation of an overpopulated area are counter-balanced are very different. In eastern countries millions of people die of starvation and plagues — in Europe more than ten million perished during the war. If a nation should indeed wish to choose on of these various ways the choice would be difficult and very much like choosing between a bullet, the string, poison or the electric chair for a criminal. A new country — America — pretends to be able to avoid these sad natural laws by restriction of immigration and procreation. The trouble is that natural laws are beyond human control and measures, we take against them, are bound to bring about unexpected results. America would otherwise be the first eternally happy country.

The various factors nevertheless show very distinct features. Provided that they are strong enough to check the growth of the population, their influence on the social structure of a nation is entirely different.

Some of them, such as diseases, starvation, hard economic conditions the abandonment or killing of weak, infirm children are selective and therefore preserve or improve the special qualities of the race. Others have exactly the opposite effect. They are, therefore, most dangerous and must be prevented at all costs. This is especially true of warfare no matter whether it is waged abroad or at home. The best and youngest forces of a nation are selected to fight, to die, to be mutilated or weakened by sickness. The weaker, the sick and degenerated subjects, however, are kept in safety and are the happy survivors.

Modern civilisation has learnt to fight and reduce all selective factors balancing over population and yet it developed the most dangerous and unhealthy one — war — to a degree of utmost cruelty and efficiency. By this I do not mean to emphasize that our medical science, our sanitary institutions and laws are to be put aside as worthless. We must, however, admit that there cannot be any actual social progress in comparison to the so-called „backward nation“ as long as we do not succeed in doing away with warfare, before all else.

Shall we be able to achieve this? 5000 years of the history of mankind seem to deny it. Let us meanwhile cease to judge a people we consider „backward“, and who, like the Chinese possess all those selective factors for maintaining the balance of the population, and who prefer to kill children they consider unfit to live, rather than see them killed and shot when they are grown up. They are more honest in their elimination of children unfit for life, than others in the cruel slaughter of their best soldiers.

This question is the same importance long discussed problem as the one as to whether the doctor should be authorized by law to quickly and painlessly put an end to a hopeless existence. We might feel sceptical, considering to what an extent the unselfish medical and hygienic modernisation of China is a real help to this country, as long as we do not provide space and room and work for the population which is consequently on the increase.

To be a soldier is a profession in China to-day — a very large number of soldiers fight on either side and come from the most densely populated province in China, Shan-Tung. About 100 000 emigrate from this province to Manchuria in the north every year in time of peace.

If war is the only profession that carries any weight and the only choice left between fighting and starving — who can expect a man to choose the latter? Civil wars are not a characteristic feature of China. Ancient Greece and Rome, Europe in the Mediaval Age, India etc. have had them. What would „an enlightened modern“ globe trotter say, if, happening to come to Europe during the 30 years war, if he would ever have had the chance to pass in safety undisciplined soldiers, robbers and people turned into savage animals by starvation, to pass by bullets, halberds, torture instruments, the funeral pillars of the inquisition and the European warlords?

The problem of maintaining the balance of a population with its bases of existence, has always been solved and has so far always been settled in the same cruel way — that is to say —. They kill the surplus of men or they have them killed. No difference whatsoever in the principle.

There are two different ways by which nations try to escape the natural law of growth, age and death.

The one way, tried and emphasized by nations which are still growing is of course the theory of infinite development and improvement, promising heaven on earth for the future and tracking man's origin back to the family of the ape.

The other way is preached by all those, who for a long time have had a static economic, social and political life.

Everything is known and can be learnt from books. The present time is not interesting. The standard is established by „the good old time“. Every deviation or modification of traditional principles is a crime.

Consequences of the first way are: loss of sense of life in speed and materialism.

Consequences of the second way: spiritual death.

### 334 Static foodstuff production in China.

So far China has not made use of her power resources. She had powder long before Europe, but did not use it for killing purposes — only for fire crackers. She had coal, but did not invent the steam engine for transferring the chemical power of the coal into mechanical force.

China, however, in her former stage had a static economic life and under these conditions her entire area was covered by a fairly large and modest population.

But the foreign power represented by the foreign invaders can only be counterbalanced by the development of an adequate Chinese power. China is thus forced to develop her power resources and to alter her economic life. This process has already commenced and is even considerably advanced. Which are the important factors of this development?

China is the only country in the world with a static foodstuff production. For thousands of years the Chinese peasant has succeeded in maintaining the fertility of the soil by the mere use of natural fertilizers. He established a completely natural cycle. The depleted fertility of the agricultural ground in the countries owned by white men, makes necessary the use of mineral fertilizers. But these fertilizers are no steadily flowing natural product as are the fertilizers of China. They are taken from a limited stock.

The economic basis of the white nations is therefore, not as sound as the Chinese one. It is in fact a constant robbery of national capital, of material and power, the stocks of which may still last a very long time, but certainly not forever. Thanks to the exploitation of these riches the white countries are able to nourish a large population for as long a time as there are other countries able to export foodstuff and as long as there are deposits of fertilizers or deposits of power to produce artificial fertilizers. This white civilisation is in fact a „power“ civilisation and may even more correctly be defined as a coal and oil civilisation since water power does not yet furnish a large percentage of all the power used. These power resources and fertilizer deposits will decrease in time. The increase of water power cannot counter balance this.

The large population of these countries will force them to make complete use of the waste, which gives stability to the Chinese economic production, instead of pouring it into the seas. According to same statistics the white nations in this way lose six to twelve million pounds of nitrogen, two to four million pounds potassium and one to three million pounds of phosphore per one million of adult population. It is an interesting fact that the use of this waste, which to us is quite a modern idea, has in China already been adapted to modern conditions, for instance in Shanghai. The waste of the city of Shanghai is bought by a Chinese enterpriser from the City of Shanghai for the fixed sum of about 30 000 dollars mexican, loaded on river boats and sold to the peasants on the Yangtsekiang. This method may not appeal to our ideas of cleanliness but it is certainly sound and efficient.

China is in a position to avail herself of many resources of power and material spread over the large country, which so far are unexploited and even unknown. China, however, will be compelled to exploit them, not so much for the purpose of giving a livelihood to a larger population

as for gaining all modern means for her economic and political self-defence. The white nations were able to construct „floating power stations“ in the form of warships, airplanes, artillery and gunbearers, which enable them to control weaker people who are not yet in possession of these weapons.

Countries producing foodstuff and raw materials are always the stronger ones in economic development. But these areas the climate and soil of which is extremely fit for production of food, become more and more densely populated and have more and more self consumers — a very dangerous problem for all countries dependent on the importation of food. The international exchange of food stuff between poor and rich agricultural areas is a natural development in a peaceful universe. The importation of food may be counter-balanced by industrial production or by an important trade function or even by a mere cultural function such as art, science, etc. China itself has an exceedingly fertile soil and her method of tilling the soil and gathering from it, since thousands of years, a large crop, has not yet been achieved by any other nation.

The raise of an industrial population in China, dependent on the importation of foreign food, must therefore be considered a dangerous experiment. One can easily understand that the high class food producers of a large community should always have a surplus of food production. The export of this surplus is merely undertaken in order to counterbalance the lack of food in poor countries, in exchange for other requirements such as industrial goods.

The following conclusion is based on this assumption. To simplify the case we must further abstract the industrial enterprises already existing in China and look upon China merely as an agricultural country, which has been stabilised for nearly an eternity.

We must first of all take into consideration the stable organic cycle existing between soil, human ability to till it and organic fertilizers furnished for the maintenance of its fertility. If an industrial production is started we may need one of five peasants to work as a workman. He is, therefore, taken away from the fields.

He must get his food in the same manner as before without having his place taken by a young peasant, that is to say by a family which grows up more rapidly. This would mean 20% surplus population and would leave the workman without a food basis. The remaining four peasants have therefore to work 5% more so as to replace the workman.

This problem can only be solved by a modernisation of their methods of cultivation. They will have to introduce modern devices, machines, tools and power. This consideration is not written in the fruitless endeavour of forecasting the fate of China by a somewhat mathematical calculation, but in order to sharpen our eyes for the seeing of futur events. The first thing the workman has to do therefore, is to produce agricultural machines and exploit power resources, or export other manufactured articles in exchange for both.

But the former economic balance is not yet restored, the soil still claims its share of organic fertilizers leaving as waste the urban households. Our modern cities unfortunately still consider it a problem how to rid themselves of the sewerage as quickly as possible, instead of considering how to keep



and use it efficiently. A new balance between the four peasants and the one workman can only be found by the transportation of the city waste back to the fields as natural fertilizers in the first place, and probably also by the additional production of artificial manures. The Chinese contractor mentioned above transports about 80 000 tons of waste back to the country. This closes the new economic cycle.

The balance is now to put it briefly: one of five peasants becomes a workman and produces mechanical devices, power and fertilizers in exchange for which he gets his food from the four peasants who are enabled by his industrial production to till the soil just as efficiently as before when he shared their labour. This balance can be kept in the whole world as long as the natural resources of power and material will last. The end of these resources would finish the age of „power“ civilisation and start a new area in the world.

### 335 Economic and political units.

Economic and political units are the basic elements of a State.

#### 335,1 Definition economic and political.

We define as an economic unit that part of a settled country which produces all necessary supplies for the existence of its inhabitants. The political unit is considered to be the combination of various economical units which are thus united into a province or state by a mere political idea.

#### 335,2 Description of economic units.

An economic unit can be so small as to comprise only the smallest social unit — the family. Everything necessary for their existence is procured by its members thus, leaving them independent of outside connections. Similar conditions are not only to be found in tropical areas where food, clothing and shelter are a natural gift, they may also be traced in northern latitudes. Individual farmers, mountaineers, hunters etc. furnish many examples of this.

But the economic unit may, on the other hand, be just as large in industrial countries, they may even comprise an entire continent. Europe for instance, is gradually developing into such a continental economic unit and this in spite of all political antipathies and obstructions. The World War proved how far the material dependence has already developed. A large territory is required to supply the necessary means of existence for everyone in an industrial country. The production of many articles, formerly spread over the country, became concentrated to one of but few favourable places, from which everyone had to be supplied.

Agricultural countries like old China still have very small economic units. A small community with its agricultural area is, as a rule able to supply all urgent needs of its population.

This economic unit is the life unit of its population and cannot be divided without threatening or destroying the basis of existence of human beings. One part, would for instance hold the agricultural ground and the other part would own the water indispensable for irrigation of the soil. They are thus bound either to cooperate or to starve. For this reason economic

units are of the greatest importance for the general welfare of a country and embody the most constant part of its history. They are the cellulae of every country.

The Russian economic unit for instance, is still the peasant village somewhere in Russia. A great revolution destroyed the Empire, a new government was established, terrible fights lasted for years, especially along the railroads. The Russian village, however, remained unchanged. The sun, the fields, work, hopes and fears are unchanged in spite of Moscow. Provisions are more or less supplied by the village or the household. The agricultural production was very often decreased for the amount it exceeded the personal needs thus leaving the village as an economical unit unchanged and passive in the great turmoil.

Russia may be divided into two parts — the „peasant“ country and the „railroad“ country.

The peasant country, an unlimited number of small economic units.

The railroad country — a thin cobweb representing the political Russia we know — know perfectly.

#### 335,3 Growth of economic units.

The growth of an economic unit is caused by the development of communications facilities. The famous emperors Yao, Ti and Shun, Ti (2200 BC.) are reported to have established markets and fairs. This might prove that in those times already communication allowed trade units which exceeded the peasant community. The improvement of traffic facilities such as railroads and highroads, are fostering and increasing the exchange of goods. This causes natural competition between the different sources producing the same articles within the combined area.

Each economic unit had a production of its own of certain articles based upon the local demand and protected by the now broken down „traffic wall“ against competition. The new status naturally leads to a competition between the different sources of the same product and consequently to a concentration of the whole production on the spot where there are the best chances.

The importance of other places may decrease. After a certain time the production of these places may even stop altogether. The entire trade area now depends on one place for this product. The economic unit has been enlarged by the improvement of traffic facilities and now comprises two or more economic units. Since trade originates and combines the economic units we may say that every economic unit in a civilised country is a trade unit, communication increases trade, trade creates larger units and thus becomes the bloodstream of an economic organism and becomes responsible for prosperity and eath of human beings.

The establishment of traffic and trade is a voluntary action — Its continuation on the contrary, a necessity. The welfare and existence of a large part of the population entirely depends upon it. It is evident, that if the once established communication is now out off, there must be a lack of commodities left in the different parts, the local production of which has been neglected or stopped by a stronger competition of the union.

The history of every country, the growth of a state has always been closely connected with the development of communication, as for instance

the roads in the old Roman Empire, the merchant fleet in the British Empire, the river trade, canals and roads in Old China, the railroads in Europe and the U.S.A.

The great Canal, connecting the rich plain of Shantung and Chibi with the Yangtze trade system was built by the Emperor Yang-ti of the Siu dynasty (589—618) A. D. 2 000 000 men were employed at one time for canal digging. This is a marvellous concentration of power, even if we make all allowances for lack of efficiency and give a low estimate of power and capital.

The Campagna was not able to compete and its production decreased. The Roman country population immigrated more and more into the capital and other cities, just as they do in modern times, tempted by the prospect of a life of ease and luxury. Rome became more and more dependent upon the oversea supply of food from Africa. Rome and the Campagna were no longer an independent economic unit. The merchant fleet created a new trade unit and consequently an economic unit — the Mediterranean. Communication within these units now became a necessity. „Panem et circenses“ was the cry and „Panis“ meant Africa. The neglected Campagna was no longer able to feed Rome. Pirates threatened to cut off communication in this Mediterranean unit. Rome had to fight them or to starve.

An interesting effort to merge the whole of China into one economic unit, in order to guarantee the union of the Empire was carried out by Shih-Huang-Ti, King of China (255—207 B. C.). He forced all the rich men in the empire to make the capital Sian-Fu their permanent abode. He thus centralised wealth, which would have been the result of a natural merger.

Communication in the large economic unit of a developed state is like the bloodsystem of the human body. As soon as this system stops its function the body dissolves and dies.

The economic units of China are of two different kinds: In the first place there is the agricultural unit — which is quite independent and supplies all the principle needs of the Chinese population. Then there are the trade units of the rivers and the fishing units of the long coast line.

#### 335,4 Language as a test.

The spread of dialects and languages very often proves a great help in measuring the intercourse between different districts and in tracing the limit between trade units and economic units. Language will always be uniform with an economic unit because of the enforced close relations between its inhabitants. If several units become merged, by new communications, there will be a gradual mixture of the different languages or dialects. In order to understand one another the people are now compelled to use one language for daily intercourse in social and commercial matters.

The history of dialects and languages is thus always in close relation with the economic and trade units. The existence of a uniform language, on the other hand, thus always proves the existence of such an economic unit a long way back. This unit may no longer exist at the moment.

The Latin language was once in history the universal language of the trade unit „Roman Empire“. This trade unit was destroyed and divided into many independent parts. Each district then developed its own language

as a kind of compromise between the native and the Latin idiom. Latin, however, remained for many centuries the language of politics, commerce, science and religion.

The spread of Chinese dialects gives one a very good idea of the Chinese economic and trade units. These Chinese dialects are so different in pronunciation of the common spelling that they might almost be considered different languages. Country, river and coast dialects very closely represent the agricultural, trade and fishing units. In the southern province Fukien, for instance, many short rivers come down from a mountain ridge, running parallel with the coast. These mountains separate the province of Fukien from the inner country. About two thirds up the mouth of each river there is a region with a peculiar local dialect. But in the upper part of all these valleys, terminated by the passable mountain ridge, appears the same universal dialect as it is spoken in the interior.

#### 335,5 The ages of the world.

Communications are so significant and important in economic, social and political life that their history is of the greatest help to us in setting time marks for the general history of mankind. Our usual division of history in ancient, mediæval and modern age corresponds only with the narrow European point of view, but becomes worthless if we wish to grasp the historical problem of the whole world. „The age of the Mediterranean has passed, the age of the Atlantic is passing, the age of the Pacific is upon us!“ These are the words of a famous American president.

„The age of the Mediterranean“ that is to say Egypt, Persia, Greece and Rome, can only be regarded as a European term. India and China were powerful civilised states at this time, flourishing countries existed even in Mexico and Peru. None of them had anything to do with our Mediterranean age. Because of this reasoning we may modify the sentence mentioned above in the following way: „The age of independent continental empires has passed (China, India, Persia). The age of local sea empires has passed (Rome, Mediterranean). The age of the world sea empire is passing (England).“

The age of the continents is upon us. America, that is to say, Canada, U.S.A. and Mexico in the north, Central America and South America together, Europe, Asia and Africa, later on probably called Eurasia. These are the coming units in commerce and politics.

We may even emphasize the relation between history and communication in subdividing human history in the following way:

The age of the pedestrian, horse carriage and small boats is passed.

The age of the ocean crossing sailing ship is passed.

The age of the world rounding steamer is passing.

The age of the railroad, autocar, airplane and coast steamer is upon us.

#### 336 Concessions economical.

What is the economic base of the foreign settlements in China?

They are important trade points and one of them, Port of Shanghai is, in spite of the undeveloped country, the third largest port of the world. Trade

points are always developing in places where two different ways of communication meet and force the transfer of the cargo from one craft to another, from river-boat to the sea-going steamer, to railway, street-car, to caravans or bearer or to any other combination of these.

In old China the mouths of the great navigable rivers Peiho, Yangtsekiang, Sikiang etc. were of no importance. The sea was the eastern wall of the Middle Kingdom, and was just as safe or even safer than mountains, deserts and the great wall. The comparatively small sea trade of former times was carried on by boats fit to go up the river because of their small draught. They could land their cargo in the very centres of the old Chinese trade, created by the junction of navigable rivers, roads, canals and caravan routes in the interior.

The economic development of the trade point on the mouth of the large rivers was only caused by the deep draught of the sea going steamers. These steamers were not fit to go up the rivers and land their goods in the former trade centres as the old wooden junks did, but were forced to transport their cargo on small river junks. If these steamers could have gone everywhere like the old junks, there would not be any ports to-day on the sea-coast like Hong-Kong, Shanghai and Tientsin.

The prosperity of sea-ports in the whole world is based mainly on the necessary transport of cargo and passengers to river-craft and railroads. The development of the regulation of rivers and the construction of large canals for sea going steamers did not keep up with the development of the steamship. Nowadays this is all changing. The sea canal of Manchester, the regulation of the river Weser as far as Bremen, the projected St. Lawrence Canal as a sea route to the American inland seas are noticeable events. They naturally mean a growing prosperity of the now accessible canal or river port and a relative decrease in importance of the old sea-port. — Conditions, such as we find during the time of the famous German Hansa may come again, this being merely a technical question.

## 4 The consequences of the event

### 41 Construction of the old state.

#### 411 Political units.

Nature is not a mathematical construction. We cannot expect to find the boundaries of an economic unit always clearly drawn through a country. There may be a narrow strip of land running between two areas which have little intercourse, for instance a desert or an unnavigable river like the Yellow River over which there are no bridges and on which boats travel with great difficulty.

The idea of the economic unit is of course an abstraction which is useful as an instrument for investigating and understanding the real conditions. The economic unit is the smallest political element with a relatively tough vitality even when political conditions are undergoing a change. This

stability is guaranteed by its population whose existence is directly concerned by the maintenance of this unit.

As we have already pointed out, a state usually consists of many economic units which are its political elements. These are linked to each other by various political ideas.

This political principle may be very different even in one and the same state during the course of its history. This principle can depend chiefly on race, religion, dynasties, common interest against invaders *a. s. f.* The idea may be very deeply rooted in the nation and therefore warrant a long and stable development, or it may be very superficial and lead to revolutions and dissolution.

#### 412 Imperial principle.

The old Chinese Empire was a good example of a stable principle. Good examples of the opposite are the fate of the empires created by famous conquerors such as Alexander the Great, Napoleon or by a dynasty such as the old Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The emperor of the Middle Kingdom was the son of Heaven. He was the personification of the spirit of the old Chinese State. His life was not an action but a ceremony. The connection between himself and his subjects lay in the hands of the mandarines, who were his representatives towards the people in the vast country. What did the Chinese Emperor really mean to the peasant of this large country? This peasant took care of all his needs by himself and knew how to settle all his economic and social affairs without much interference from any public institution. There was no obvious link between himself and the emperor.

The significance of the imperial idea which connected them may be explained by the conversation which once took place between a foreigner and a Chinese peasant.

A Chinese peasant was asked for his opinion respecting the old and the new government in his country. He praised the old monarchy and blamed the new republic — of course. According to ancient and wide spread beliefs, the emperor was in connection with God and was able to influence Him by the religious ceremonies on the altar and in the temples of Peking. When the crop was threatened by drought, rain or flood, he went to the altar of Heaven, sent up prayers to God — and God helped. If God did not help, then the emperor was no longer the son of Heaven and China looked out for another emperor.

We must, however, notice particularly that the link between the peasant and the emperor was an economic one. It was the imperial aid for a good crop. Could we indeed expect to find in the mind of a Chinese peasant before all else, celestial or religious fiction which bound him to look up to Peking?

There is no longer anybody in modern China who might act as middleman between the peasant and Heaven. The emperor has gone and with him all the mandarins who represented him throughout the country. It is I should like to draw attention to the fact that in ancient China there were only men representing the emperor towards the people, but nobody represented the people towards the emperor, as is the case in modern states. The

reason for this is that all economic units were held together by this imperialistic idea.

What was bound to happen after this principle had outlived itself? The political link between the economic units was broken. The Chinese Empire went to smash, each self-supporting unit seeing only to its own interests.

#### 413 Boundaries.

The political principle combining the economic elements into a state, is rarely limited to the very idea which would confine the possible growth of the state to a certain area. In history, we usually notice that every state, like all natural organisms, has the tendency to spread farther and farther, creating and adding to its area one economic unit after another. It has thus been able, for instance, to counter balance overpopulation (an important internal problem) and to increase political power (an important external problem). This unlimited tendency to extend always met with a gradually increasing or a suddenly rising resistance which put a stop to the further growth and gave the state definite political boundaries. The two opposing forces national growth and human or geographical resistance meet on these clearly defined boundaries, the fighting belt of the state. We may define it as a fighting belt, because a state assumes a fighting position on this line either of defense or attack and these are counterbalanced by the resisting factors. The geographical factors, which may possibly mark the boundary of a state, are of a great variety. In ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia and Persia we find deserts and mountains. In England and Japan there is the island coastline. Ancient China was surrounded by high ranges of mountains and a great wall in the North and by the sea in the East. No other people in the world understood the importance of its geographical limit as the Chinese did when they built the Great Wall against the Tartars, thereby completing the natural wall of protection around the entire country. No other people, have at the same time, ever emphasized their peaceful mentality, by a genuine work of defense such as the Great Wall. Fifty miles of this wall represent the volume of a large Egyptian pyramid. The Wall is more than 1500 miles long. How was it planned and how was the work of constructing it organized?

All of the countless economic units spread within these strong safeguards were held together by the imperialistic idea.

China could not avail herself of the means of traffic, with its high capacity and speed, necessary to create large economic units. China was a continental empire and thus confined to river, canal and road traffic with junks, coolies and horse-waggon. The Chinese proverb: „Nan chuan bei ma" means: „south-ship, north-horse".

That is to say, that road traffic prevailed in the North and water traffic in the South with its navigable rivers.

#### 414 Naval and Continental Age.

Continental means of traffic did not develop as quickly as the construction of the ship, thereby giving to communication by sea the supremacy over continental communication. This supremacy lasted until the steam railway

was invented and a net of railway tracks spread over the modern continent. Naval supremacy was the basis of the Mediterranean age and merged Rome and her coastal possessions into one economic unit. This naval supremacy was further the basis of the world sea age, marked by the sea empires Spain, Holland, England and Japan.

Railroad, autocar and airplane mark the rise of the continental age and of a future internal change in China. Old China was destroyed by the invading sea-powers, the representatives of the fading naval supremacy. The decline of naval supremacy mark the development of the new Chinese Empire, which is supported by the other growing continental power, Russia. Russia shifted her capital from the naval centre Petersburg to the continental railway centre Moscow. The rise and fall of these two capitals are a significant process in this revolution of traffic.

The modern means of continental communication establish a continental supremacy and enable continental states to develop gradually into one economic unit. This unification will become the best guarantee for a strong central government and will be a safe guard against civil fights. This state of affairs, in which the entire nation represents one commercial unit, is at the same time the strongest one. Every production can be located on the most efficient places, the distribution can balance overproduction and urgent needs on different places one with the other.

The merging of a state into one economic unit usually happens late in its lifetime. We find, for instance, in the Roman state, that it took place when the nation was already declining. Rome was a dying state when its urban proletarians cried for „panem et circenses", that is to say for corn and savage animals from Africa.

#### 42 Character of the Foreign Invasion in China.

Power opened the gates of China just as power in ancient history, once opened the Gates of Rome. In both case „Barbarians" invaded a highly civilised and cultivated state. The word „Barbarian" is not an insult, but is merely used to define a stronger people with a comparatively lower civilisation.

Barbarians of former times invaded the weakened Roman Empire in search of land for a surplus population.

Modern „barbarians" invaded China for the sake of their commercial interest.

The struggle for life was the motive in the first case, business that of the second.

There are two further and noteworthy differences between these two barbaric invasions: First their manner of proceeding and second the character of the invading nation.

The main idea of Rome was the Roman state. Rome was not productive in a cultural way, but was only the centre and collector of the old Mediterranean civilisation. The Roman state fell into decay and Italy became nothing other than a large museum of the entire Mediterranean age. The idea of Rome was preserved as a valuable inheritance for its successors in the books on Roman law.

The idea of China, on the contrary, was the spirit which found expression in its social life, customs, ethics, literature and art. This is a static and inherent element of China. It is not the idea of the „state“ as in Rome. And it explains the fact, that although the Chinese Empire was divided and unified, destroyed and overruled, conquered and ruled by foreign dynasties, the Chinese spirit was never conquered by any foreigner as yet. The conquerors themselves became Chinese because they could not command a civilisation of their own as strong as their fighting power — they were „barbarians“.

The other important difference deals with the beginning of the movement. The civilised Romans first of all invaded the country of the barbarians in Germany and were driven back and overrun after the breakdown of their ideal — the Roman state. This Roman state no longer existed at the time the barbarians invaded Roman territory.

The civilised Chinese, however, never possessed the power and spirit to act alike. Their country was always invaded by the barbarians first. The two longest walls ever built, the Great Wall in China and the Limes Romanus in Germany, both completing a natural line of defense, served two very different purposes. The Roman Limes protected a conquered area and was the basis for further warlike enterprises in the interior of the Barbarian country. It was a provisory construction. The Chinese Great Wall on the contrary, was built in order to protect China against the Barbarian invasion from the very start. It was therefore built, to complete the Great National Wall for all eternity around the Middle Kingdom, encircling one race — not colonies and tributaries like the Limes Romanus.

It is a noteworthy fact that one of the few imperialistic enterprises, the naval attack against Japan with the intention of conquering and subduing the latter country, took place under the command of Kublai-Khan, the great emperor of the Mongolian Yuan Dynasty.

### 43 Principles of new China.

The ideas of the economic and political unit discussed above may point, to the future way of China's reconstruction. The unifying value of the economic unit, defined as the smallest possible unit in existence, is very important.

#### 431 Economic unification.

Since economic units are increasing with the improvement of the means of communication and a consequent development of trade, we may formulate as the first principle: „The development of all means of communication“.

This is already working out and will prove an important instrument in the linking together, again the broken pieces of the old empire. But we cannot expect, as we have already pointed out, to enlarge the economic unit so quickly that the whole of China becomes unified in a short time. The process develops by degrees:

- 1) the construction of communication facilities such as railroads, roads and navigable rivers;
- 2) trade and social intercourse resulting therefrom;
- 3) concentration in the new area;
- 4) political union by economic force.

This will take a long time and will only further the creation of provincial economic units, but not the economic union of the whole empire. We notice that the small European states are not yet merged, and this in spite of highly developed intercourse and traffic. The league of nations may be looked upon as a first move in this direction. We can therefore hardly hope to see China economically unified in a short time, as her railroads, coast and inland navigation and road system are just beginning to develop.

#### 432 Political unification.

If the whole of China becomes unified once again, it can only be expected to be achieved through a new political idea replacing the old imperial idea that was destroyed during the revolution. This new idea must join the broken parts of the empire.

The internal and external life of a state generally furnishes two corresponding ideas for its political life. The internal life may be governed by the principle of imperial authority or by the democratic principle of self-government, the external life may be governed by the idea of commercial and political self-defence or attack on the „fighting belt“, that is to say on the political boundaries or on the world market. The internal idea of old China was the „empire“.

The external idea was the self-defence behind the wall of mountains, stones, deserts and water.

The most outstanding of the new internal idea in China is at present:

- 1) the social principles of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen, the new external idea of China is,
- 2) self defence against the foreign invasion, on the long eastern coastline, with modern weapons.

The steamship destroyed the old principles of China by changing the eastern waterline into an open and defenseless doorway, leading the foreign sailors right into the heart of China. China must adopt the Western ideas that have been imported in this way, in order to find the new principles and become an independent free country once more.

The defense of the coast is one of the most important factors in modern China. As long as China is not able to control the coast-line and to meet any force with an adequate force of her own, she will never be able to act as a free and independent country.

The realisation of these facts may be of some help in understanding the apparently senseless and hopeless fighting and political actions of generals, unions and politicians, joining and separating, victorious or defeated. We see both ideas, first the gradual union brought about by the steadily developing economic units and the stabilisation of their political administration, — secondly the linking together of the whole empire by the new internal social principle and by the self-defence against foreigners.

The first economic idea may be identified at present with the Tupan of Shansi, Yen-Shi-San, the second social idea with the Kuo-Ming-Tang (Canton Hangkow Nanking). The fact that both movements are not yet of accord is of peculiar interest. We should rather expect them to cooperate

as they are both necessary and do not contradict one another at all. The reason for this may be that under present conditions each principle, needs the entire devotion of a man or committee to itself. It is very often difficult to combine economic and political views in the person of one leader.

Since human existence is largely dependent on economic units, but not essentially dependent on political ones, political units are comparatively unsteady. They usually show very irregular fluctuations. Monarchies, presidents, dictators may come and go without leaving any inherent influence on fundamental economic units.

There are also many representatives of modern China who have no definite ideas and just work for their own benefit and for the financing the foreign power which is giving them financial help. Tschang-so-Lin may be able to administer his own province satisfactorily (Manchuria), even without Japanese and English help. Yet he would always fail to conquer China because he lacks a general idea with which to replace the former principles. There is not enough space here to decide between the two ideas mentioned above.

The building up by degrees or the finding of a new link between the peoples of the old state. They are both necessary and must co-operate.

#### 433 Peaceful defence.

The eastern wall of the Chinese Empire has been broken down. Foreign powers, coming in on their steamships as traders and warriors, easily invade the richest provinces of the empire by many water routes in middle and southern China, the backbone of China's economic life. As the invaders very often penetrate into this system of economic arteries with hostile intentions, we may say that China has fallen ill and suffers from an blood-infection.

China must fight this infection with all means in her power so as to become an independent nation once more. This does not mean the declaration of an old fashioned war or a mere preparation for this eventuality.

Peace and war are only two different sides of the same principle; that is trying to keep one's place in the sun. Life always proves to be a fighting proposition for any being and any people. We call it peace as long as this fighting is confined to commercial and political competition under international laws and to the making of weapons and propaganda. We call it war when this fighting is carried on with all sorts of moral and immoral weapons, with or without blood — shed and with destruction.

It is not, but in modern history that nations become aware of the efficiency and the usual preferability „peaceful fighting“, as for instance in the present great „naval battle“ in Geneva. For England this battle is probably more significant and far more dangerous in its consequences than the battle of Jütland. It is not blood alone which sets a value to defeat and victory. The different ways China can fight for her independence and resurrection must be gone altogether. Each one gone by itself would not suffice. They may be enumerated in the following scheme:

- 433 Peaceful defense
- 433,1 commerce (railroads, streets, airplanes, inland and foreign market
- 433,21 social and political imperialism
- 433,22 cultural propaganda
- 433,3 preparation of military defence
- 433,31 political allies and treaties
- 433,32 coastal defence
- 434 war.

This general scheme naturally needs some further explanation. On account of the lack of a modern trained army, China at the present moment is not able to carry on open warfare. All she can do is to prepare her military defence. This she is in fact forced to do. Hence, what China can do at the present moment is enclosed in the one word „peace“.

#### 433,1 Commerce.

China like many other nations, such as Russia, has yet to realise the importance, efficiency and preferability of commercial warfare.

What have commercial and military warfare in common and wherein lies the difference between them? They both have one thing in common: relative increase of supremacy over the adversary.

This can be done either by:

- 1) weakening the opponent; more than oneself this is war and means losses and destruction on either side.
- 2) Strengthening one's own position more quickly than the adversary can his own. This is peace. It means developing one's own agricultural and industrial productions, trade, administration and foreign relations. This therefore means honest and sound competition and a display of the best human qualities.

If we put the problem in this way, we certainly will get a better point of view. One may well question the soundness of the present Russian policy as the policy of a continental power against imperialistic sea-powers such as England. The existence of the English naval empire is based on the English sea-routes. If the sea routes go, the British Empire will go too, no matter what clever statesmanship and brave sailors may achieve. The value of these sea-routes is of course purely relative and depends on the existence and efficiency of other competitive trade-routes. The routes are continental roads and airlines for freight and passenger traffic.

The continental powers must avail themselves of the fact that continental communications such as railroads, air-traffic and modern concrete roads for motor-cars are stronger than steamships. This is the reason why the naval age is passing and the continental age is before us. This fact also proves that the best weapons of the continental powers are at present not guns, but quick, reliable train-service, auto-routes and air-lines.

The Siberian railway was the heaviest blow to the position of in Asia. Russia must realise that this railroad is only the beginning of a continental system and that it will achieve two things for Russia in connection with modern roads and airlines. It will first of all develop and strengthen a country with rich resources and will secondly decrease the value of sea



routes and thus „peacefully“ destroy the backbone of naval imperialism. Russia's war budget is one of the highest in the world. Russia should spend comparatively more money on railroads and concrete roads, (Urga-Peking) airplanes and airports. All of these are weapons with which to fight, but these latter weapons are more efficient. Steampower, electricity, gasoline motors and cars, airplanes, chemistry make more history than any general or conqueror. Their representatives, such as James Watt and Stevenson, Siemens, Ford, Wright, Junkers, and Liebig are neither field-m Marshals nor statesmen, but they make more history than many warriors and diplomats.

What continental Russia does is just as imperative for China. How can China become free as long as her most important cities such as Peking, Hangkow, Kanton, Shanghai are not linked by a reliable train service, as long as the Chinese passenger and cargo is forced to rely on coast and river steamers which are under control and at the mercy of naval powers.

The continent must fight the sea. The miles of rail-road track missing between Kanton and Hangkow, the connection of the Yang-tse cities and the connection of southern and northern China by rail and air-service would make more history in China than any war did during the last decades. History tells us of a continental age before the naval age, that is to say before the opening of the Suez Canal and the discovery of the sea-route to India.

Caravans transported the goods which were exchanged between Orient and Occident by way of the great deserts and plains of Inner Asia. Important trade routes crossed a territory, now desolate and forgotten. Prosperous cities were situated on the junctions of roads. The Nan-Lu and Peh-Lu the two old trade routes are forgotten. The steamer was stronger than a channel. That decided the fate of a prosperous trade and of numerous towns.

The steamer was stronger than the channel, but railroads, autocars and airplanes are stronger than a steamer — they will decide the fate of another prosperous trade and of its rulers. They will bring commerce and power back to the continental routes.

May be that many places, buried under the sand during the naval age will come to light again. This development can be furthered by many peoples to a large extent, if they understand wherein lies their destiny and their advantage.

History and the future are neither mathematical function nor the mere playground of deliberated forces. Great statesmen and great people are not the one who try vainly to „make history“. They are farsighted and try to understand history and to act accordingly.

#### 433.2 Politics.

##### 433.21 Social and political imperialism.

No people ever thrived as long as internal fights between political parties, governors and social classes ravaged the land, as long as public money and public rights were not safeguarded against selfish politicians, as long as poorly paid officials succumbed to craft and bribery.

The education of the Chinese citizen as regards political rights and duties in a modern state should be the most important factor to better this situation.

This educational work must start in the schools with a modern training of the young people's minds. Grown-ups never adept themselves to new ideas as well as the young. They are usually bound by professional work, old traditions and a general selfishness. Even if they grasp the problems, they usually lack the enthusiasm and willingness for sacrifice. The school is the key to the future of a people. A strong government will never rule over a people who do not want it. A strong government will always encounter opposition and will be reproached for its tyrannical methods, as an oppressor of rights and of freedom. As long as this means the oppression of trouble makers, for instance, who criticise and insult for the sake of business and personal interests, as they did in Italy, the government is justified in taking action against them.

What is freedom? Public education and laws which guarantee life and property and give the best support to all honest professions and help in furthering the general welfare. One may well doubt the soundness of any parliamentary government. There are many different systems between the extreme forms of absolutism and a real parliament. There would be much more peace, fewer parties and more honesty in the political world if we could realise that political systems are not a sign of enlightenment or of backwardness but an economic function. This is not the place to discuss this interesting problem at length. A few suggestions may, however, give the reader food for thought.

Reviewing history we are aware of a seemingly senseless succession of republics, monarchies and dictators. We cannot pretend to be able to trace any gradually improvement in any system of government, beginning with the institution of a primitive tribal-chief up to a marvellous present-day form of government. There are evidently connections between the general economical situation of a people and its form of government. The social structure of a nation is based on its economic life, whether the people are earning their living as nomades, hunters, peasants, by hand-craft, trade, industrial production or any combination thereof. As long as this economic life does not change, the social structure which bases on it will not either. Every thing is settled and conservative, few internal questions will arise. Science, art and religion find a soil upon which to grow and can be fostered by kings. Do we know of any republic which helped to create great works of art and literature? Can we separate Roman architecture and the Roman Emperors and Popes, Chinese literature and art and the Chinese Son of Heaven, Tasso and Ferrara, the Indian temples and mausoleums and the great Indian Khans, Goethe and Schiller and the Archduke of Weimar, Wagner and Ludwig II. of Bavaria, Versailles and Louis XIV. Egyptian temples and pyramids and the Egyptian Pharaohs. Don't we see that even in Greece the arts flourished under the hand of rulers?

Monarchies are a conservative form of government. They are good as long as economic conditions remain static. They become dangerous, however, when conditions change and demand a new social structure, new laws, new sections in the administration and an abandonment of old customs. New professions create a new social class such as the „bour-

geois" in the medieaval age by handicraft and the workmann by modern industry.

A new social class has naturally no rights, because nobody could foresee them. They must claim their rights from the other classes and the government. They both fear a new unknown power and will not grant these rights, provided they are not forced to do so.

This state of affairs leads to a political mess which we officially describe as a revolution; we hear shouts for freedom, the rights of men are proclaimed, a new political system, fit for an enlightened people who are able to govern themselves, is worked out, parliaments, tribunals, political upstarts fight with words and weapons and fill the pages of history. Republics are established.

Urgent new laws and rules are passed by the legal assembly of the young republics. The monarchy could also have passed them, but monarchies are conservative.

Modern rapid industrial progress has entirely changed the social structure in Western Europe and in the U.S.A. The handworker and the peasant are replaced by the factory workmann and the farmer. (We must realise that the difference between a modern farmer and a peasant is just as big and as significant as the difference between a workmann and the old handicraft. This is probably the main difference between European and American economic life.) The problems arising from that change unsettled the world. Monarchies are abolished. Economic progress cannot be handled by „Sons of Heaven“, either in Europe or in China. This does not mean that any parliamentary system is able to take these matters up and to solve them. A parliament is only another system to find the right man for the right place. This system can work far better than an hereditary monarchy, if the parliament really confines itself to its task and does not try to rule country as most European parliaments do. We see the system working successfully in England, where it was invented. We are accustomed to hear and see individual outstanding personalities in English politics, whereas in many European countries the papers are filled with gossip of the German Reichstag, Austrian Parliament, the Russian Duma etc.

The only country which so far has succeeded, at least partly, in solving this problem are the U.S.A. Immigrants to that country left all traditions behind them. They created a new country, a new government and a new spirit. Poor Europe and China, both entangled in old history, suffer under communism and reactionism, commit suicide by conducting wars and imposing high duties, their modern youth suffers under the old-fashioned grown-ups. People try to become old in order to get a public or private position. The contrary is the case in U.S.A. where everybody tries to stay young in order to keep his position.

China, however, has derived one great advantage from the foreign concessions. These territories, which China was forced to hand over to foreign powers, were originally mostly barren land on the mouths of the navigable rivers and on the coast line. During China's continental age these points were of no special value, since the sea was the frontier, not the gate of a world trade. The naval age made these places the most important trading points of the Empire. A large immigration of Chinese coolies, merchants and bankers took place. The famous old trading centres

in the interior of China lost their business, the famous banks of Shansi which controlled this trade and the credit of the imperial court lost their influence. Prosperous Chinese cities under foreign administration grew up where formerly sandbanks and barren mountains lined the coast. The Chinese population of Shanghai, for instance, is one million inhabitants, whereas there are only 30 000 foreigners, the Chinese population of Hong-kong is 850 000, that of the foreigners is 16 000. That is to say that about 97% of the population in these foreign concessions is Chinese. These concessions are very much like new territory to the Chinese immigrant, where modern international life, modern laws and a quick commercial development part him from many old traditions. This is an advantage of the foreign concessions, which naturally, on the other hand, created many political troubles.

When Lord Napier in 1834 suggested to his government to take possession of Hong Kong, „the island being adaptable for every purpose“ he certainly did not do it with the intention of helping and educating the Chinese people; nor did his government. There is no reason for the Chinese to be grateful for the advantages and possibilities they derived from foreign concessions. The foreigners developed these concessions only induced by their selfish interest. The advantages the Chinese derived from them may partly balance the unjustifiable force used by the foreign powers.

#### 433,22 Cultural propaganda.

The Chinese people inherited a very precious gift from their ancestors which, however, was also a very dangerous one. This gift is Chinese literature, art and social wisdom.

The Chinese developed on the lines of a static economic life, a degree of excellence never surpassed nor even attained again. Other nations have had thousands of years in which to find a complete expression of their peculiar conditions of life and their racial character.

This is a thing which the foreigner must study and admire. He should be able to find a corresponding means of self-expression for his new power age. On the other hand this old culture is a shirt of mail for the old Chinese spirit. He must rescue his spirit from it if he wishes to solve the modern problems in his country. In time he may find a new way of expressing his new life, conditions and character.

He should forget for a while — not scorn — his old traditions.

The world knows very little about China. Only a few are able to read the characters and only a small part of the vast literature has been translated and can be read in foreign languages. China should systematically propagate her old art, literature and customs in the whole world. Anyone who knows anything about them will appreciate them, and he who appreciates them will respect the people who created them. He will no longer be able to speak of inferiority and backwardness but understand the present events and judge them with patience.

This propaganda is a considerable weapon. China could not do more for the furtherance of her international position, than by spreading her literature and wonderful pieces of art over the entire world. The quality of an old piece of China or the wonderful style of a tripod, an incense burner, a candlestick etc. cannot be spoiled by lies printed in the



newspapers and will always awaken sympathy in its possessor. He will always acknowledge the value and qualities of a people who are able to create such pieces of art and literature. There is a movement in China, as in many other countries with an ancient history, to keep their old inheritance and to watch carefully any foreigner who tries to buy and export treasures of art. This movement is probably not right. For these treasures are somewhat like a weight holding people back from modern ideas. Besides that many of these treasures were stolen and destroyed in the present revolution. It would be far better for them to be stored and preserved in foreign countries where they would work steadily for China, arousing sympathy with their creators.

There is one more weapon which must not be forgotten and that is political propaganda.

It was deliberately used in the Great War, particularly by England who succeeded in winning over the U.S.A. as an ally. This decided the war. It was also used very much by the Russian Soviet Union to stir up the communist movement abroad and to lead China against the Imperial powers.

This political propaganda is already used by the Chinese who learnt it from Russia and England. Every day they had opportunity to notice in the foreign newspapers how far news and facts can differ, certainly not in order to help further international morals but simply to further the selfish purposes of the editor. Calumnies may be very foolish, illogical and shortlived, but they always do harm even when they are revoked.

This is the axiom of this immoral business and it works. There is no excuse for having practised it. But one who accidentally uses it cannot blame another for the same practice.

This must be realised by the foreign powers who feel their own weapons turn against them in China.

Foreign nations and even foreign residents in the Chinese concessions are constantly furnished with false reports. It is very easy to avoid the truth without telling lies in the sense modern morality attaches to it.

If in a report — which otherwise sticks to the truth — a few sentences are omitted, the report is certainly no longer strictly truthful. The sentences which have been omitted may explain an action which cannot be understood without giving the reasons for it. An event may in fact be a matter of serious reproach to one party, but will be changed by the omission of one sentence and thus become a matter of reproach to innocent people.

The burning of the opium stock of English merchants in Kanton by the Chinese imperial commissioner Li is an unpardonable encroachment, an attack on international laws and trade rights — if we do not tell the whole story and add that these English merchants tried to import the dangerous poison which had been strictly forbidden by the Chinese government.

England, who was legally and morally in the wrong, even started the war and the circulation of hypocritical reports saved the skins of the guilty ones.

We may perhaps better be able to understand the impossibilities of this situation if by transferring it to a modern people, whom we consider as

being equal to ourselves. (Many of us don't look upon Asiatic peoples as equals, even though this feeling may be a subconscious one.) Let us assume that English merchants try to import whisky and other alcoholic cargo openly into the U.S.A. and that the English government would declare war if such alcoholic stock was destroyed by American prohibition officers. This comparison may help us to understand the relation between international morals and rights and the old law of the stronger one.

### 433.3 Preparation of military defense.

#### 433.31 Political allies and treaties.

What is a treaty? Is it, according to the foolish words of a chancellor and the long practice of the great powers in past centuries, merely a scrap of paper?

The English fleet destroyed the Danish fleet in Copenhagen in the midst of peace. Louis XIV. occupied Alsace Lorraine and Strassbourg in peace time. French troops stood in neutral Belgium before German troops touched the frontiers; Italy, a member of the „Dreibund“, violated her obligations and entered the Triple Alliance.

A treaty cannot produce and guarantee any friendship it can only emphasize a friendship which is really practised. This friendship must be founded on sound racial, economic or social relations.

China has to look for such natural allies. The U.S.A., Russia, Germany, India, Indonesia and even Japan have at present many political and economic interests in common with the Chinese interests.

Peoples and governments do not always become aware of their natural friends. There was, for instance, no reason for Germany and Russia to fight each other. Germany needed Russian food and Russia needed Russian business men, engineers and industrial goods necessary to develop her country. Bismarck patronized the German-Russian intercourse and found that a strong Russian-German friendship was the best mutual guarantee for prosperity and peace.

This was forgotten by the shortsighted predecessors on either side. Two natural friends fought one another to the benefit of the Western powers who took advantage of their mistake. England, under the reign of Edward VII. succeeded in overcoming this mutual sympathy and these good relations with the primary intention of restoring two continental competitors.

Something like this may happen between Japan and China if Japan does not rid herself of English influence. Japan must understand that 40 000 000 on their island will never govern 400 000 000 Chinese on the continent, that her policy against China must only be dictated by their own future interests. Japan cannot furthermore risk her own interests in order to serve in preference for British imperialistic aims. Japan needs China. It did not do her interests any good, for instance, to march, on special command of the British, through Chinese territory, in order to attack Tsingtau. She did not derive much benefit by occupying large parts of Shantung and blocking the unifying nationalistic movement in China. Countries who want to do business and carry on a straightforward competition cannot but wish to see China united under a strong independent

government. A policy of concessions and of trouble-making, press propaganda and warships is only in the interest of such powers who wish to force their goods on to the market and finance their empire with the labour of „inferior races“.

### 433.32 Coast Defense.

There is a certain difference between aggressive and defensive warfare, especially in naval activities. One may well question the soundness of an aggressive naval policy for an Asiatic people. But a military defense of their own coast-lines and neighbouring seas is an urgent obligation. They must provide all modern weapons with which to rid themselves of foreign military interference in the first place and then keep this power away in future.

The creation of this defense force is a question of time, and money. A thorough investigation must be carried on in order to find the most efficient program for constructing.

There is only, of course, the justified intention of defending the country against invaders and not the imperialistic idea of preparing an instrument of war with which to attack other nations.

The naval conference of Geneva between America, England and Japan illuminates this problem as far as naval cruisers are concerned. The U.S.A. aiming at a protective naval force, are interested in large cruisers with a strong 8 inch guns armament, operating in front of the coast line. England, who is not interested in defending the dominions and colonies separately, but who wished to defend the world wide connections between these parts of the Empire, claims a great number of small cruisers with six inch guns.

That is to say that an American naval craft, corresponding to the English suggestion, could not do much harm to the English sea-routes, the backbone of the Empire. The large cruisers on the contrary, would have great value for long distances, that is to say for attacks.

Both countries claim for themselves what a partner should claim if he wanted to defend his country, and nothing more than this.

### 434 War.

Throughout the whole of history war has always been an economic affair. The final settlement at the end of a war, when the defeated party is forced by the victorious one to hand over a part of the national fortune in the form of land, money or slaves, is always an economical affair. War is also an economic proposition as far as warfare itself is concerned, as it is invariably a question of resources.

The principle axiom of sound business must be applied to this political action. Any special result should be achieved by the smallest possible effort with due regard to general conditions. If there are different ways to aim at reaction, we must choose the best way. That is to say, we must look for the way which requires the least time and effort.

Air-planes, for instance, can be attacked either by anti aircraftguns or by shooting-planes. We may be successful with both of them, but with a very different investment of men, material and power.

A thorough investigation may convince us that our investment in anti-aircraft is comparatively much larger with the same result. This may lead us to the resolution to abandon the present anti-aircraft policy and to confine our activities on the ground to the installation of observation-posts, searchlights and small caliber guns. The sole purpose of these guns is to signal hostile planes to ones own men by shells bursting with large visible clouds. A similar comparison with regard to lime function, may give preference to air-planes in the coast defense against cruisers, long range guns or submarines.

The manufacture of air-planes, fuselage and motors is comparatively simple and does not require such large arsenals and warves, so many well-trained, skilled workmen and technical staffs as the above mentioned heavy and complicated competitive constructions. Let us consider the fact that a good airplane should be simpler than a good motor-car.

The defense of the Chinese coast-line does not entail an inexpensive modern navy. The possession of a strong, well trained air-force is the best safeguard against any land and sea attack. The expenses for the construction and the up-keep of a modern battleship (hundred million dollars including the necessary small craft) cover the corresponding expenses of more than one thousand airplanes.

The risk and even sacrifice of a small amount of these air-planes will guarantee the destruction of a battle ship. In case of attack the coast has always a great advantage over air-planes operated from air-plane carriers. The adversary's air-force is concentrated on a ship, representing a good target, whereas ones own aircraft is decentralized and divided over different air-ports.

The development of aviation in China is not only of importance for the military defence but also represents the probably only mechanical link in the new empire in the way of long distance passenger air-service. This air-service, connecting the principle commercial and political centres of China, might for the beginning, comprise two air-lines:

- 1) from south to north, from Kanton via Hangkai, Peking to Mukden, or via Hangkai, Tientsin to Mukden.
- 2) from east to west, from Shanghai up the Yang-tse river via Nanking, Kiu-kiang to Hangkai (Urga, Irkutsk).

This „air-cross“ would very much help to unify China in a natural way. The establishment of the very important Yang-tse service from Shanghai to Hangkai is facilitated by the chance to operate seaplanes on the river, thus avoiding any long and expensive preparations of aviation fields etc.

### 435 Concessions.

Foreign concessions are claimed by China as Chinese property. They are the centres of an immense accumulation of wealth, preferably Chinese, not foreign. Chinese wealth is not threatened by foreigners, it is on the contrary safeguarded.

In the present civil war the concessions are in fact, the only safe places for a rich Chinese and his fortune — in China. What China lacks in

order to become a prosperous country is only a good government. This is proved by the concessions and foreign colonies like the Philippines, Java and the Straights where the Chinese communities flourish and often predominate in business. The concessions will have to be placed once more under Chinese authority. There is no right to claim them as the eternal property of foreigners. The only question is to fix the right time to carry out the transaction.

Some of the Chinese political parties merely claim the concessions in order to further their own selfish financial interests, not for the sake of the Chinese people. Foreigners, on the other hand, do not wish to give them up as they fear to lose a great deal of business and to risk their investments. What really matters though, is not the Chinese warlord who wants them back immediately, nor the foreign merchant and statesman, who wants to keep them forever, but the Chinese people themselves.

Chinese emigration in the concessions is somewhat like the emigration in a foreign country. This emigration can mean flight for a Chinaman from constant fear of losing life and property. Flight from old customs, old superstitions and inanner of living. They are the trade schools of modern life in China.

The present evolutions of the concessions would destroy foreign business, but would also do far more damage to Chinese business and, last but not least, to the Chinese people. The way to solve this problem will be a gradual transfer of the administration into Chinese hands. This will not correspond to the political aims on both sides, but will work out in accordance with the training of the modern Chinese for these positions.

#### 436 Chinese writing and language.

Chinese writing is the same all over the country and was copied by Japan in ancient times.

Unfortunately, however, Chinese is spoken in many different ways, so that one should rather speak of different languages than of different dialects.

The development of traffic, commonsense and a central government will in time most likely help to make the „Kuang-hua“ (called „mandarin“ by foreigners) the universal language of China. This language is already taught in schools throughout the empire.

Modern business, however, is far more dependent on a universal writing. Although this exists already these old Chinese characters are entirely unfit for modern business.

Even the new Japanese alphabet „Katakana“ which has reduced the number of characters from about 5000 to several hundred, does not solve this problem. Modern business is bound to the use of mechanical writing. The construction of type writers and their efficient handling, limits the number of characters and signs to a small number.

The Chinese have perhaps many reasons for not accepting the European alphabet. Not only does the Chinese writing represent their language in the right inanner, they would also regard it as somewhat of a cultural defeat, hard to be born by a people whose civilisation is thousands of years old.

Whether the new alphabet of China has 20 or 30 characters is of no importance compared to the fact that a successful competition and cooperation with foreign countries, a modern administration and education are impossible without it. The Roman alphabet will conquer China if a competitive better alphabet is not introduced.

Chinese script is the only universal means of mutual understanding in China. For this reason the Chinese cannot to-day abolish the characters and accept a modern phonetic alphabet. If they did, the country would be split up into as many territories as there are different pronunciations existing at present.

Chinese symbols must be adhered to until China has a unified spoken language. Only then will she be able to model a phonetic alphabet and write the spoken language.

Foreigners who say that Chinese script should be given up right now, are usually representatives of these dangerous experts on China, who have lived there 20 years and more without learning anything about Chinese language, Chinese writing and Chinese problems.

#### 437 Chinese pirates.

A pirate is an outlaw — he lives by robbing goods and taking life — and must be exterminated at all costs.

A great deal might be said on this subject which does not alter facts that are beyond our power and influence. We have no intention of course, of making excuses for the pirates. That would mean going to the other extreme.

But we might be able to understand these matters better if we studied them more closely.

Are these pirates creatures, who went in for this horrible profession for bloodthirsty and cruel reasons and out of disdain of a normal profession? Or are they unemployed men, who have lost their positions through warfare or a commercial breakdown and have left only a choice between starving to death with their families or becoming high-way robbers?

If piracy or soldiery are the only opportunities left to make a living in a country, then we must expect to find both of them as a plague for the people and for themselves. For this reason we can understand why the difference between soldiers and pirates is sometimes very small and that they often become friends and good terms.

The idea which is common to these pirates and soldiers may be quite the same: to keep from starving — but not to sacrifice the lives of others or their own. In fact, if there is any way of avoiding fighting between the parties, it is done and affairs are settled in some other way.

If we come to the conclusion that unemployment, political pursuits and opium are the chief reasons for their existence, are we then not somewhat nearer to a solution of the problem? Since opium is generally acknowledged to be one of the roots of this public plague, we should at least do our best to put a stop to the importation of this terrible poison, forced on China for the sake of money, by a people who wants give moral lectures to this state now.

If unemployment is another, we may likewise be able to help in this direction, to a certain extent. That is to say we should pull the weed out with the roots instead of trying to cut it and watch it grow always again.

The Chinese pirate is no problem for the police, but an economical and social problem which can only be understood and solved with the improvement of the general situation.

There are parallel cases to the Chinese pirate in the history of other countries. In the medieval age an entire military clan „the knights“ who were thrown into unemployment by the invention of powder weapons and the consequent development of pedestrian soldiery, became highway robbers. There are probably many countries in Europe where robbery was more spread and patronized as a real profession than in China. China is not given to fighting and settles many disputes with words where we even now go in for duels and bloodshed.

#### 438 China and Bolshevism.

This problem cannot be discussed without first introducing a third term into the headline: Russia, China, Bolshevism and Russia.

That addition is often intentionally omitted by the anti-Russian and anti-Chinese propaganda. The result is a mass of false criticism and prejudices in the minds of these people who feel themselves obliged to solve the Chinese problem with as little thinking as possible, but according to their own selfish aims.

We have first of all to consider the relations between the two largest continental empires of the world, China and Russia, with a view to their general political situation. Secondly, the influence of the present Russian government, Bolshevism on occurrences in the Chinese civil war. We must be careful not to mix these two questions so as to get a clear aspect of the situation.

Russia and China are besides America the two most important representatives of the coming continental age.

England is the representative of the passing naval age.

A prosperous Russia and China with a dense system of communication will naturally concentrate all countries in Eurasia towards this centre of economic gravity. The naval orientation of Italy, Egypt, Turkey and India will naturally shift to a continental orientation.

The Kaibar pass, for instance, already once before the link between India and the continent, will become the most important traffic connection to Afghanistan, Persia and Russia, just as the new roads will link India to China.

Rome died of degeneration, the Venetian Republic died of the discovery of a new sea passage to the Orient. England will die of a new continental road between Europe, Russia, India and China. Russia, India and China will become continental neighbours.

But this involves a relative loosening of the former important water neighbourhood of India and China with England.

A „neighbour“ may be defined as the man living next to one. That is to say, neighbourhood is a traffic term. The naval neighbourhood is

relatively threatened by the steadily increasing continental neighbourhood. But relative factors are those which decide a case. India, for instance, thirty days from London and about 100 days from Moscow, that is to say about three times farther away from Moscow than from London. India may in a very short time be twenty days journey from London, but only five days from Moscow, that is to say it may be four times nearer to Moscow than to London.

This is only natural, as it is based on geographical conditions and on the development of continental trade. China is already now only 10 days distance from Moscow, but forty days from London. This is due to the Siberian railroad, the first transcontinental railroad of Eurasia.

This railroad must not therefore only be viewed as an internal economic and political link of the vast Russian Empire, but as the beginning of the continental age in Eurasia.

This of course means a relative devaluation of the English naval searoad. On account of their situation Russia and England must therefore be natural enemies. Each improvement in the way of continental traffic means a defeat of the naval traffic and in consequence a defeat of England.

Naval communication and its supremacy is the backbone of this most powerful representative of the naval age. This controversy between England as a naval and Russia as a continental representative has nothing whatsoever to do with Bolshevism. The growing relations between Russia and China and the increasing continental orientation of that country has a general significance and is not an invention of the Bolsheviks.

The general policy of Russia towards the continental states, Turkey, Persia, India and China is Russian policy, not Bolshevistic policy. But the old Russian government, as an Imperial government with a strong centralised power, could only dispose of the Russian army and the development of continental traffic as factors with which to support and foster this new orientation.

The army could only be used during war and was not suited to a steady systematic policy.

The abolition of the Imperial regiment gave Russia a new tool of the greatest importance. England's Imperialistic policy could not be abused and blackmailed formerly, as Russia's own government worked on the same lines and would have been threatened by any propaganda.

This has completely changed now. British colonial policy „does not believe in education“ as the American does and is a history of force, not of peaceful penetration. The slogan of „the oppressed peoples“ is, with a nearly unlimited display of variations of this idea, the third important factor in Russian continental policy.

The British imperial, naval commonwealth is opposed by a Russian communistic, continental commonwealth, as Russia offered a considerable idea of freedom to the different republics within their boundaries. Is the putting into practice of this idea, which was started by the Bolshevik revolution, Russian or Bolshevik policy?

This is not the place to decide this problem; the only purpose of these lines is to draw attention to a problem which is often overlooked.

It is evident that Russian and Bolshevik policy are working on the same lines in China, sometimes cooperating, sometimes interfering with one another.

We should like to state that Russian policy in China (the support of a national movement with arms and Bolshevik anti-imperialistic propaganda) is successful in many respects, but that Bolshevik policy in China (the fight against Chinese capital) is often disappointed. In order to grasp this difference we must try to realise the entirely different social and economic structure of both countries. Both are peasant countries. 85% in Russia and 80% in China till the soil. But China proper is already overpopulated. Russia on the contrary is one of the most sparsely populated countries in the world.

Chinese economical life has to a large extent grown on the navigable rivers and is therefore far more dependant on communication and trade than the Russian area. The thin line of railroads spread over Russia during its modern age, with its western towns attached to its junctions, was yet not rooted in the Russian country nearly as much as China's old trade system.

Russia thus consisted more or less of two countries:

- 1) the oriental peasant country with medlaval communications and,
- 2) the western town country with railroads. Russia, sparsely populated as she is has more economic elasticity than overcrowded China, where every climatic, trade or political trouble must consequently at once threaten the existence of many families.

Race, civilisation and history are other very important factors which mark the difference between the two empires.

Russia's civilisation is still on a very low standard and cannot be compared with that of China who can stand the comparison with any civilisation we still know of to-day. The ratio of alphabets, which may be just as large in one country as in the other, cannot be taken as a measure for the comparison of oriental with western peoples.

Writing is only one way of human communication and preserving knowledge, speaking and retentive memory is another one. This memory is far more developed in oriental peoples like the Chinese and the Indians. A Chinese pirate who is able to memorise Chinese classics as a pastime is a very different sort of man to a Russian outlaw who knows nothing apart from his criminal job.

There is no people in the whole world which is so conscious of its ancient history and civilisation as are the Chinese, and therefore so opposed to foreign influence.

This Internationale as a force-runner of a worldwide unit is the third Proletarian International. The „first Internationale“, as yet the only successful one, is the international banking system. The „second Internationale“, which failed with the American declaration of independence, was the British world Empire.

But „the third Internationale“ is apparantly nothing but an instrument of a new Russian imperialism.

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